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levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction, and elections.[30] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform. 185 576 581

In the cities where modern influences had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual references to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships. The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage, and devotion to self-interest. They had respectively given rise to the sins of marriage based on money, the "belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[31]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A 185 883

30. Ibid., pp. 4-6.
31. S.C.M.P., 1022, p. 4.

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campaign was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955 to guard youth against "bourgeoise concepts." In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors "to place love in a secondary position in one's life" is hardly likely to solve the problem.[32]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts...the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The

32. Ibid., 1006, pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

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H. Affiliated Party Organizations

The Party attempts to utilize the enthusiasm of youth through two organizations which, although not a part of the Party, are under its supervision. The New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC) and its subordinate group, the Young Pioneers, for youths aged 9 to 15. The Young Pioneers are subordinates of the Youth Corps, looking to the latter for leadership and guidance.

1. New Democratic Youth Corps

The Party controls the NDYC through the Central-South China Working Committee of the corps. The Constitution of the corps assures the Party of effective control.[25] It permits Party members to be in charge of corps organs above the county level, thus placing the direction of corps activities in the hands of the Party. The first function of the corps is to provide a reservoir of potential new Party members; for example, corps members constituted 56 per cent of the Party recruitment in Wuhan in 1951.[26] Its second task is to supply needed activists in all organizations, particularly in the factories and rural communities. Its final task is to engage

25. The Chinese text of the Constitution of the NDYC and Li Ch'ang's explanatory report in People's Daily, July 7, 1953, pp. 1, 3. English text in Current Background, No. 258, Sept. 10, 1953.

26. Editorial, Yangtze Daily, Aug. 22, 1951, p. 1.

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in the broadest possible range of activities in order to reach segments of society where Party organizations are lacking.

The organization of the corps follows that of the Party. Prior to 1955, a Central-South China Working Committee of the NDYC was established to serve as the representative of the Central Committee of the NDYC. Local corps organizations on provincial, municipal, and county levels are empowered to establish representative committees in the administrative districts and ch'ü.

With the exception of those working committees on administrative-district and ch'ü levels, the constituent corps organizations rest upon a dual authority. Each level has a congress and a committee elected by it. These committees are the executive organs of the corps and their component members are approved by the upper-level committee. The Central-South China Working Committee has repeatedly stressed centralized leadership within the corps and the strengthening of the position of the corps branches.[27]

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27. For example, consult report of the committee, ibid., August 8, 1952, p. 1.

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The corps branch, like the Party branch, is an essential link with the population as a whole. It may be formed in any factory, mine, enterprise, farm station, village, government agency, company of the armed forces, school, or street where there are three or more corps members. A general corps branch and corps committee can be formed, depending upon the size of the branch. These basic-level agencies of the corps serve to mobilize youth and the masses and also may take over Party functions where Party agencies are inadequate.

The New Democratic Youth Corps has at least three million more members than does the Party itself,[28] However, it is not an organization with political power; it is rather the instrument through which the Party exercises control over youth and, more particularly, over youth organizations in the militia,[29] the army, and the schools.

2. The Young Pioneers.

Chapter 7 of the Constitution of the Corps governs the relationship between the corps and the pioneers.[30] Their regional influence is less apparent than that of the corps. Earlier, the pioneers

28. In the Central-South China area, Corps membership in August 1952 was 900,000, with 50,000 Corps branches established. Cf. summary of the Central-South China Corps Secretaries Meeting in Yangtze Daily, Aug. 8, 1952, p. 1; national figure in Feng Wen-pin's report, ibid., Aug. 8, 1952, p. 1.

29. Corps members constitute 80 per cent of militia in some cases; Yangtze Daily, Nov. 8, 1951, p. 3.

30. Chinese text of Regulations of the Young Pioneers, People's Daily, June 1, 1954, p. 2.

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concentrated upon the promotion of patriotic fervor among the youth between the ages of nine and fifteen; since 1953 emphasis has shifted to recruitment of members.[31] National membership now stands at 70 million, about 15 per cent of the youth in that age group.[32]

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II. POLITICAL CONTROLS

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The Party has consolidated its power by a network of controls not only over Party agencies but over all bureaucratic, military, public security, and mass organizations. The control is maintained by placing members of the Communist Party of China in key positions in all of these organizations, by reserving all policy-making decisions to the Party, and by agitation to arouse popular enthusiasm in favor of the Party.

A. PARTY CONTROLS OVER GOVERNMENT ORGANS

1. Party and Government Fusion

Control of government organs has been accompolshed primarily by the fusion of government and Party in authority, in functions, in personnel at all levels and in all spheres of political activity.

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31. Official call for the establishment of the Young Pioneers in the Central-South China Area, Yangtze Daily, Dec. 13, 1952, p. 4.

32. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], March 14, 1955, p. 1.